

by Terry Bisson and Sally O'Brien

On Feb. 12, Lincoln's birthday, Black revolutionary Mutulu Shakur was captured in Los Angeles, Calif., after being on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list for four years.

The 36-year-old New York doctor of acupuncture is said by the FBI to be the "mastermind" of the 1981 attempted Brinks' robbery by the Black Liberation Army in Nanuet, N.Y., in which two police officers and a Brinks' guard were killed. Shakur also is charged with freeing Assotto Shokur (Joanne Chesimard) from prison in 1979.

His arrest brings to 35 the number of people arrested and charged in connection with the Brinks' holdup attempt. An alleged associate, Nehondo Abiodun, is still free, as is Assotto Shokur.

On the day of Mutulu Shakur's capture, the FBI held simultaneous press conferences in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., touting the "close cooperation between federal and local law enforcement personnel" and praising their "application of state-of-the-art technology" in making the arrest.

FBI Director William Webster said: "Today we have sent a message to those who would violate our laws. Cowardly acts of violence are no match for the coordinated efforts of this country's law enforcement professionals."

FBI files describe Shokur as "known for his links to revolutionary movements"—an allegation Shakur himself does not deny. An activist in the Black Liberation Movement since the age of 15, Shokur was one of the founding members of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, formed to organize the drive for an independent Black nation in five states in the South.

He was a co-founder of the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research, and a founder and Director of the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America, (BAAANA), a community clinic on West 139th Street in Harlem. One of the first Black acupuncturists, Shakur studied the Oriental science in China and Quebec. At the invitation of the Zimbabwe African National Union he traveled to that country as part of a team of international observers of the elections that resulted in the African nation's independence.

On March 5, he was brought to New York in chains. The corporate media have had much to say about his capture. In a recent, wide-ranging, exclusive interview conducted at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in Manhattan, Shakur speaks for himself in his own words.

NOTE: To help in understanding the significance of people and events referred to throughout the text, footnotes are provided and correspond with a glossary.

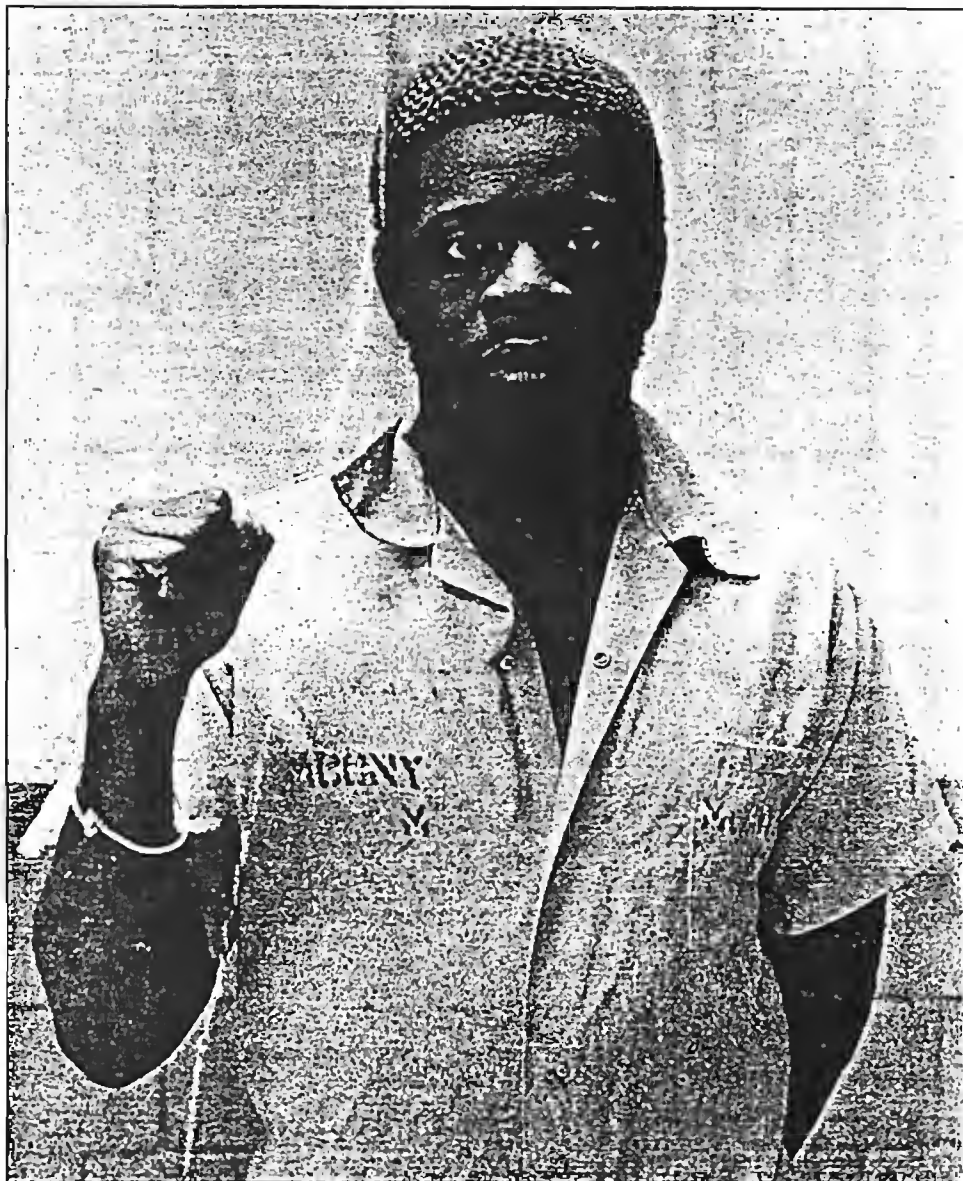
My name is Mutulu Shakur. I was picked up in California about 7 weeks ago by members of the New York Police Department and the FBI, a special unit called the Joint Terrorist Task Force.¹

Some of the specifics of my capture I'm going to hold for later, but right now it's important to understand that the JTTF, or any other counterintelligence operation, is working with a budget that is 100 times more than the New Afrikan liberation struggle's budget or any oppressed people's budget to push forward their ideology, to defend that ideology and to defend themselves and their families and comrades from being oppressed.

There's nothing magic about the FBI or the JTTF. They're so effective because, generally, people struggle for liberation because they love people and it's that love which allows people who are traitors to the race, traitors to humanity, to get close to people who are sincere about liberation.

When you're in the street and you're underground and you say, 'How're you doing, brother?' or 'How're you doing, sister?' you speak to them out of love and you feel that whatever you're doing is in their interest, you know? And when you say that to a person and that person becomes the JTTF, it's that little love that makes them more effective, more so than the money they put into capturing you.

The underground railroad that was created by Harriet Tubman and Martin Delaney² and Henry High-



For Mutulu Shakur, the Revolution Isn't Over

land Garnett³ and Gerritt Smith⁴ and all those people way back then, it still continues today. A lot of people who don't necessarily believe they can do what you do will try to help you so you can do what you have to do. They're not as astute as we are; we're keener because we know the nature of the beast. A lot of our Black brothers and sisters and other comrades sometimes don't truly believe how deep it really goes. So we make errors.

I'm charged with RICO⁵ conspiracy, armored truck robberies, freeing Assata Shakur⁶ and that's it. Will I take a prisoner-of-war position or wage a legal defense? I'm going to do both.

My life represents a struggle. I'm not the first and I won't be the last. I'm not a person without faults; I'm a human being, you know what I mean? But one thing is paramount: I've always struggled for justice and equality for everybody, but in particular for the New Afrikan nation. And that means when I became a prisoner of war of the U.S. government, it's a responsibility that the government answer to the oppression that has been waged on the people, on the work that I've been involved in in general, and me in particular in relationship to that work. So therefore the politics of the case must come out.

Legally, if the U.S. government intends to continue

the farce that this is a democratic society, the method of the development of evidence against the comrades in the Brinks' case... that evidence is bogus. The torture that went on with Solomon Brown,⁷ the interview with the wife of Mtshari Sundiata⁸... she was clearly under mental stress and we had been involved in healing her; she had suffered from some colonial mental behavioral problems. And the mental and physical torture of Comrade Sekou Odinga.⁹ Those kinds of things represent the cornerstone of fascism. It represents the attitude that the government can do anything to make a case stick based on their assumptions.

We are targets. Those of us who have struggled consistently for our liberation gambled against this monstrosity in order to hold our heads up high and to represent a concept. It doesn't take a genius to see that we are targets. All over the world people who oppose, who speak out, become targets. And America is definitely one of those governments that has supported torture and terrorism. So I am, and have been, an antagonistic individual towards American society ever since the age of 15. I was brought up under the tutelage of Brother Herman Ferguson¹⁰ and he introduced me to the struggle in terms of the right for Black people to have an independent school system in

Continued on next page

Ocean Hill-Brownsville. That taught me how police power is used to resolve civil contradictions in a colonized society.

So we're prepared to pick 12 and put the story before the 12 and let a thousand flowers bloom.

I want to discuss the prisoner-of-war situation. It is of particular importance to the New Afrikan independence movement and to every brother and sister—from the Black Flag¹¹ to the Deacons for the Defense¹² to the Revolutionary Africa Movement (RAM)¹³ to the Fruit of Islam to the Simbas,¹⁴ to the Black Guard¹⁵ to the New Afrikan Security Force,¹⁶ to the many security formations that have functioned inside America to protect Black people from abuse and to give them some security to exercise their political disagreement in this society—who has been beaten, killed or maimed. These comrades and brothers and sisters, though they were not underground, the war existed even so; they had to carry arms to defend Black people. The POW position has to be broadened so that these kinds of brothers and sisters are respected for the work that was carried on.

The battle of New Bethel;¹⁷ the battle of Jackson, Miss.;¹⁸ the battle to protect the Mosque on 116th Street;¹⁹ the battle of Philadelphia, where they killed all those children;²⁰ the battle of Ahmed Evans in Cleveland²¹—these battles were carried out. And anytime you engage the local force, the state power, the federal power, the superseding power is the federal government. These brothers and sisters were in battle with this government, and so I am a prisoner of war from that perspective. I have been involved.

Hopefully, if the judge adheres to the Geneva Convention and international law and the U.N. Charter, we will present a technical, legal case for me.

'My experience in these struggles indicates that I have been willing to fight and die to protect Black people from oppression. I am not a militant; I am not a rabble-rouser; I am not macho. It is a practical responsibility of anybody who wants to be free to be able to and be willing to defend that freedom.'

having a hearing on a prisoner-of-war status. And I think Sekou Odinga put forward the prisoner-of-war position clearly—his status and Brother Kuwasi Balagoon's²² status as prisoners of war fighting for a just liberation and a just cause.

My experience in these struggles indicates that I have been willing to fight and die to protect Black people from oppression. I am not a militant; I am not a rabble-rouser; I am not macho. It is a practical responsibility of anybody who wants to be free to be able to and be willing to defend that freedom. If I had my druthers I would be a fireman or an acupuncturist, but I was not left alone in that sphere; that's a whole story of oppression.

So along with the military defense aspect of my POW status is the fact that I have been a New Afrikan ever since I was 15. I have legally struggled to have an independent Black nation. And I have done it within this system and outside the framework of this system, so it is consistent. It is not that I have just decided to become a New Afrikan, or that I have just decided that the most peaceful way to resolve the contradictions between America and the Black race is by having a separate nation; I have been engrained in that ideology. It doesn't make me a racist. I don't have the power to be a racist. It doesn't mean that I don't believe that the class struggle should be carried on. But it does mean that I, individually and as part of a collective mass, have been part of trying to define the most peaceful and efficacious way for us to have peace and justice as a people and we have determined that as a nation would be the best way. We have tried to do that every legal way possible, and every time we have been militarily attacked, psychologically attacked, chemically attacked, I have been a part of that struggle. So that puts me in the category of representing a specific ideology for a nation for a long period of time.

There's been a lot of talk about the police killed in

the Brinks' thing. First of all, we should not assume who killed who or who was there; all of that is the government's analysis, okay? That I am the mastermind, that's propaganda. That's so more papers are sold; it makes the capture of me more important. It gives the Task Force more money to operate this year; their budget goes up. That's all economics.

I have been working and living in New York for the last 20 years. I have treated, I dare say, 5,000 to 10,000 people for methadone and drug withdrawal. I've worked to expose methadone as chemical warfare being waged against Black people. I think I have taught more people acupuncture who are not M.D.'s than almost anybody in the country. That's not a bragging thing; it is just to say I've been working my ass off (excuse the expression, Ma). I think that I have always—always—followed the struggle. Wherever the struggle is, I will go there. I have no life other than the struggle; it was through the struggle that I developed acupuncture. My patients covered a vast range of people.

I've worked in Queens to develop an educational structure. I've worked in the urban renewal program in South Jamaica when they were putting in York College. I've worked on the National Task Force for Cointelpro²³ Litigation and Research to expose government misconduct against the white left and covert operations against the Black Liberation Movement. I have worked consistently with ZANU in Zimbabwe. That's not 'I, I, I,' but it's true; that's what I've done. I've been in Cairo, Ill., and Wilmington, N.C. It's because it's what I am about. If they can isolate me from the community, then they can isolate the community from me. I don't need to prove myself to the community.

The community must look at itself and see who patrols its streets. It must look at who has jobs and who has the best jobs. It should look at how there are liquor stores on every corner in our community. And it's not happenstance, you know? Winnie Mandela used to talk about how everywhere she went there was a beer hall in South Africa when people didn't have homes or jobs. The beer hall allows for people to become intoxicated, to forget their problems. And then after you leave you're arrested and put in jail, so that the weight of the oppressive system is constantly on your mind.

So the community must look at whether I am the enemy. Have I contributed to oppression? Have I contributed to bad education? Have I contributed to bad housing? They called BAAANA a terrorist operation, and in the '70s Lincoln Detox had the same status. So it's not me, and that's what we have to get away from. The community has to decide who their enemy is.

You ask about the police killed in Brinks. In terms of bodies, the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the Black Liberation Movement, we have bodies laying all across this country.

Sandra Pratt,²⁴ Zayd Malik,²⁵ I mean he was just protecting a woman who was innocent, you know what I'm saying? You could talk about Kimu, Woody Green, Changa,²⁶ Timothy Adams.²⁷ We could talk about how Twyman Myers was never tried and he was the 'Terrorist of the '70s' and he was shot in the Bronx 45 times, the same way they shot Zapata. My brother, Lumumba, was just killed in New Orleans a week before I was captured. How was he killed? All of these deaths have got to be answered for—not just as to who shot who, but under what system and with what political motivation. I'm talking about Clifford Glover,²⁸ I'm talking about Mrs. Bumpurs. We die by white guns and with white people pulling the trigger. And if it's not whites as a race, it's this government as a country.

That doesn't even scratch the mental illness that it's caused. How many brothers and sisters who just refuse to get up every day because they tried to do it through the party, they tried to do it through the welfare rights organization, they tried to get a good education? They've been beaten in jail and it just killed their spirits. Colonial war and mental disorder have an effect on our community. It has an effect on me.

When they talk about burnout, they talk about these big executives. But those of us who have been fighting oppression consistently, we have to be of the highest moral standing. Sure we must be; that's the best of us. That's the best of us. But the ones of us that

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MUTULU SHAKUR

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are in the middle, we still have our obligation, even though we're not of as much moral character as the best of us, because it's our struggle, we've got to win this. And that's what I say about the bodies. I don't like no one dying—that does not make me happy; I don't feel sexy about that. If we can get our nation and get on with what we have to do, then we would be getting killed less. Because we're the ones who are dying.

Since my capture I've been treated like a slave. But the brothers and sisters in California, Allah bless them, after I was arrested they packed the courthouse and clearly showed I hadn't been forgotten. I think that made them prepared to have a political trial, to bring me here, because the masses responded immediately and quickly. I made it clear that I was willing to come here and didn't want to fight extradition because I felt at that stage that if I was captured then the struggle would continue at that level and I had a responsibility at this level.

Bringing me here, that was an experience. I was shackled, I had this black box on my arms. It's for what they call Level 6 security people. They put a black box so you can't move your wrists and they tie it to your waist with a chain and they do your feet so you really have no movement. You have to bend your head down to your waist to eat. It's a very inhibiting thing, but it made it clear to me that I was a slave like Nat Turner² and Denmark Vesey³ and all these other brothers and sisters who had to function under those chains. See, I've been locked up and put in jail for civil rights. This experience was new to me. But it made it clear to me that I was on the right side.

Coming here, they have this federal airlift; that's one of the most awakening things for anybody to see. All the prisoners that they're moving around the country are put on a plane. Whatever your charge is, you are shackled, your wrists are shackled, your feet are shackled, and you're handcuffed and you get on the plane like that. You can't get up, you can't move unless the marshals allow you. The marshal has the nerve to say to you where the emergency exits are! I was in four prisons since I came here. If you wanted to see the breaking edge, the breaking edge of fascism and genocide, you gonna see it when you see that federal airlift.

When you're oppressed you find love with the oppressed. In prison, because I had not had the experience, the prisoners taught me how to survive. I want to give homage to them for that. If you haven't been persecuted and four or five guards are walking around you all the time and you're not sure what's gonna happen to you, you feel good to know that from behind closed doors in the holes of prisons all over this country that I went to, that the comrades, or 'criminals' as you call them, would bang on the door to let them know they're not going to do nothing to you and be unanswered.

Even if you had faith in the system, there is an uneven balance of the people who have responsibility for your life.

I'm here under the theory of Edwin Meese that says if the cops bust you, you're guilty. I haven't been convicted of a crime. I'm here, and I have to see you in this fashion, under double, double, double, and double security. I can't get bail. But there's nothing unique about me. When we stopped traveling and they put me straight in the hole without any discussion and kept me in the black box for 14 hours, I expected that; I am a prisoner of war. But the rest of the nation, the people of this nation, have got to recognize that the power of the government should be questioned.

It took the Jewish people at Auschwitz a long time to realize it was time to defend. It shouldn't take us that long a time. Black people, they ain't going. There is not going to be a Black Holocaust. If we're gonna get it on, we're gonna get it on in the beginning. Stiff resistance in the beginning makes for victorious resistance in the end. And that's what we prescribe. That's how we're going to deal with it.

We're not exceptional, we're just clearer about our objective. We understand the system; we've researched it. I was an investigator for the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners on murders of brothers and sisters accused of being in the

Black Liberation Army. So when they came looking for me, I knew why I had to move on. Because if you don't, if you allow them to catch you, that's a 50-50 chance or a 75-25 chance, according to how you deal.

They were looking for Assatta. All praise is due to those who liberated her because she was a person who should have been free and I wholeheartedly support the liberation of any brother or sister who's been fighting for our struggle. So does that make you a conspirator, or does that mean you believe in your struggle?

I'm not really worried about the government trying to criminalize me. I'm no better or no worse, but I'm not a criminal. It's the conspiracy part that concerns me. Some of these people they're accusing me of conspiring with I've known since I was a child. So because you know somebody and love somebody and understand their oppression and if you could do something to help them, that makes you a target for a RICO conspiracy. That's no different than South Africa, where three or four people cannot stand in the same place. It's not because they're standing there, it's what they think—that's the conspiracy. And what they will do about their liberation—that's the conspiracy. You have no right to think about your oppression and you

a personality profile and potential profiles on brothers and sisters in particular movements. They will assess which one has the most potential to be x, y or z. And that's what they call first-strike capability. They search these people out and try to find some kind of conspiracy connection that will bring them together because they agree politically.

When you read the anti-terrorist books that they have in their training sessions, you will see that it's not a lot of cyanide bullets, it's a lot of psychological profiling. You can't talk publicly and not expect to be analyzed.

So the clandestine movement becomes important—not necessarily to be an armed wing, but to carry out political work. The African National Congress of South Africa or any party or organization that is functioning in a repressive, fascist country has to think about the clandestine style of work. We can't join organizations unless we become much more massive; and the only way we become much more massive is we must defy. We must defy, we must use some of the civil rights techniques, we must use some of the nationalist techniques, the Pan-African techniques, the major rallies like we used to have.

Counterintelligence is not just moving on clandes-



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have no right to choose what you're going to do about it.

We're not dumb. We might not have gone to all the schools, but we have a very sophisticated movement. Brother Imari Obadele has struggled intensely as a New Afrikan freedom fighter and as the president of the Republic of New Afrika. Brother Chokwe Lumumba, the attorney for Brother Bilal Sunni Ali¹¹... we've all suffered this oppression, we've done our research, we've done our study. This is not a half-job here. We know why we're being oppressed and we know the techniques of being oppressed.

So if the jury convicts you of conspiring, they are part of the conspiracy to oppress you. That's my position on it. And I'll let Allah deal with that.

Look at what's happening with the Puerto Rican 13th case, which is a national liberation case. It's a question of uprooting all forces who are trying to move their people to self-determination. The people who are at the forefront of that movement will be moved on. And they will be moved on by scientific computer analysis.

They've used Western technology to be able to do

tine operations with the M-16 and the shotgun and the SWAT team. Counterintelligence is to determine what they can do to make sure that there is not a solid predictability in the machinery to organize the masses as well.

We in the New Afrikan Independence Movement are struggling relentlessly for the recognition of our right and a plebiscite for a nation. We have always supported the Pan-Africanist concept, if that will work to organize Black people, and if the Pan-Africanist concept supports our right to land and independence here. We always support the African struggle, the struggle in Azania, in Angola, in Zimbabwe.

I am Mutulu Shakur. Shakur means "the grateful"—someone struggling to try to be humble, forward and respectful to our people, but determined and non-capitulating to the system that's oppressing us. I am part of a group of brothers and sisters who have been involved with all of Assatta's trials, most of the BLA trials, most of oppressed people's organizations' trials, most of the Nationalist Party trials. We've been involved with Herman Ferguson; we've been involved

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with Sonny Carson; we've buried the brothe. in Attica; we formulated the Malcolm X Memorial; we had the rallies and sent money and went to defend the mothers of Atlanta. We've been there wherever the struggle is—whether in Cairo, Ill., or Wilmington, N.C. I say all these things because that's the history we represent.

This whole period has taught us a lot. It should teach our struggle a lot—that what they do to us narrows your freedom.

One thing I'd like to mention is that the Black women in the struggle to free slaves and to house slaves and to keep slaves free from the slavecatchers have been a very important aspect of our liberation struggle. Sister Assatta Shakur, and Sister Nehanda Abiodun are still underground, but they are still maintaining and building the underground railroad. These women have children and they have been without and away from these children for a long time. Sister Nehanda, they have almost no evidence against her—none that is relevant anyway—but they have forced her and she has made a political decision to do the right thing. And she has to live with that. And I think Black women should be proud of Sister Assatta Shakur and Sister Nehanda and their role in keeping and helping build the underground railroad in the tradition of Sister Harriet Tubman.

'This case itself will be a historical case. We have said that we are going to court so that the case for national liberation becomes a part of the history for our children and a basis for petitioning the establishment of our nation and for an adjudication of myself and the other comrades not as criminals but as political brothers and sisters who are involved in a national liberation struggle.'

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I see that Black people should take the opportunity to come to court and to go out in the community and

tell the people in the community what they've heard. I think it's a lesson for all organizers; it's a must they should come. And for these people who are trying to conceptualize their involvement in the movement and some of the ultimate sacrifices you're going to have to make in the movement, you should come so that you're clear, so that you can't say people forced you into something. Once you make a determination that you're down and put up stiff resistance and you understand what the consequences are, the movement moves right along; it's not gonna stop.

So that's how I see all the work of all the people who were on trial before me and the comrades that are under, and the underground railroad that is being built to keep people moving, and the covert operations to keep our ability to organize intact. I think that all those things help us grow. Repression breeds resistance, you know.

It would be presumptuous to say that every brother and sister in the New Afrikan Independence Movement nation necessarily wants to be in the five southern states of the Republic of New Afrika,⁴ but every brother and sister in this nation will benefit from the fact that the nation exists, that protects and defends their right to exist as foreigners in any other country, any other place in the world, because they will have a nation that represents their interests.

We do understand that we as a people have the right to have land and have a right to have a government. Black people who were brought here as slaves and who are here, who are scattered all over this world, have no country that represents our interests. We have no government that represents particularly our interests. That right is an inalienable right and that responsibility is the responsibility of those who comprehend. We comprehend that as a responsibility.

To me, it's time for us as a nation.

For those who want to help mobilize for the Pan-Africanist movement, then they got to do that. And we will join in that. The class struggle to heighten people's consciousness of class and the class contradiction, we enjoy the role in that. But it's not our priority. It's not that we are not politically astute enough to deal with it; it just is not our priority. Our priority is to educate the masses and to put structural programs in the community and be responsible to the community.

GLOSSARY

- (1) **John Terrorist Task Force** is a combined force of federal investigation and local law enforcement personnel.
- (2) **DELANEY**—Martin Delaney, Black nationalist, abolitionist, editor, physician and a leading advocate for the emigration of Black people out of America in the 1800s.
- (3) **CARNETT**—Henry Highland Garnett, abolitionist who worked with Martin Delaney.
- (4) **SMITH**—Gerritt Smith, New York abolitionist of the 1840s.
- (5) **RICO**—the Racketeering, Influence and Corrupt Organizations Act passed in 1970 initially to prosecute organized crime but broadened in the 1980s to include prosecution of alleged terrorist groups and dissident political organizations.
- (6) **ASSATTA SHAKUR**—known to authorities as Joanne Chelmsford. Shakur is a leading member of the Black Liberation Army and a federal fugitive. On May 2, 1973, she was arrested by New Jersey state police in an incident that left her companion, Zayd Malik Shakur, and one policeman dead. Assatta later was charged with two counts of murder in that incident. On Nov. 2, 1979, at least three people reportedly broke into Trenton State Prison and freed her. She has not been seen since.
- (7) **SOLOMON BROWN**—also known as Sam Brown, was arrested on Oct. 20, 1981, after the Brinks' holdup attempt. According to Brown, his attorney, supporters and at least one doctor, during the course of his interrogation he was beaten to the point that his neck was broken. Police and FBI deny these allegations.
- (8) **NTAVARI SUNDIATA**—another member of the Black Liberation Army, was killed Oct. 23, 1981, by JTTF agents after a high-speed chase in Queens in which another Brinks' defendant, School Odunga, was captured.
- (9) **SEKOU ODUNGA**—a former Black Panther and BLA member arrested in the federal Brinks' trial. He spent about three months in Kings County Hospital after his interrogation by JTTF agents. According to Odunga and his attorney, authorities tortured the BLA member by burning his body with cigarettes and cigars, grinding off his toenails and beating him to the point where his pancreas was partially destroyed. The FBI and police deny these charges, saying any injury "occurred in the course of his apprehension." Doctors at Kings County, while not denying his injuries, did disavow them. During his trial in 1982, Odunga took a prisoner-of-war defense. He was sentenced to 40 years-to-life in prison and currently is in solitary confinement in Merion Prison in Illinois.
- (10) **HERMAN FERGUSON**—former New York City school principal in Ocean Hill-Brownsville who waged a struggle for community control of schools. Ferguson also was a leader in the Revolutionary Action Movement in the 1960s. Convicted of conspiracy to bomb and assassinate, he fled to Guyana, where he has granted political asylum.
- (11) **BLACK FLAG**—a self-defense organization in the Black Liberation Movement of the late '60s and early '70s.
- (12) **DEACONS FOR THE DEFENSE**—a self-defense unit operating primarily in the South. Organized to fight against the KKK and other white-supremacist attacks on the Black community.
- (13) **RAM**—the Revolutionary Action Movement organized in the late 1960s to fight for the right, nationally, for Black self-determination.
- (14) **SIMBAS**—means "young lions," the name used by self-defense units in various Black-nationalist organizations nationwide.
- (15) **BLACK GUARD**—the security arm of the Revolutionary Action Movement.
- (16) **NEW AFRIKAN SECURITY FORCE**—a security formation of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.
- (17) **"BATTLE OF NEW BETHEL"**—occurred at the first anniversary celebration of the Provisional Government of the

Baptist Church. Police confronted people leaving the church. In a shootout that ensued, two police officers were killed. Three people accused in that incident were acquitted of all charges.

(18) **"BATTLE OF JACKSON"**—On Aug. 18, 1971, police and FBI agents staged a pre-dawn raid on RNA headquarters in Jackson, Miss. A shootout occurred in which one policeman was killed, one FBI agent wounded and 11 alleged RNA sympathizers arrested. They later became known as the RNA 11.

(19) **"BATTLE TO PROTECT THE MOSQUE"**—In 1972, New York City police staged a raid on a Muslim mosque on 116th Street in Harlem. During the raid one policeman was killed. One person charged with murder eventually was acquitted.

(20) **"BATTLE OF PHILADELPHIA"**—On May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police dropped a bomb on the house of a Black back-to-nature group called MOVE, killing five children and six adults and leveling 61 homes in the fire that erupted.

(21) **ARMED EVANS**—Black nationalist, who in 1967 led a rebellion in Cleveland in which several police officers were killed. He was convicted and sent to prison, where he eventually died of cancer.

(22) **KUWASI BALAGUON**—BLA member and defendant in the state Brinks' trial. He currently is serving three consecutive 75-years-to-life sentences in Attica. He, too, took a prisoner-of-war defense in the trial.

(23) **COINTELPRO**—code name for a counterintelligence program developed and used by the FBI from 1950 through the 1970s. It was designed to "destroy and disrupt" opposition political movements in the United States, particularly the Black Liberation Movement.

(24) **SANDRA PRATT**—wife of jailed Black Panther Geronimo Pratt. She was mysteriously murdered in southern California in the 1970s.

(25) **ZAYD MALIK**—Zayd Malik Shakur, a BLA member and companion of Assatta Shakur, was killed on the New Jersey turnpike on May 2, 1973, during a confrontation with state police.

(26) **KIMU, WOODY GREEN, CHANGA**—all members of the BLA, killed in separate shootouts with New York police in the 1970s.

(27) **TIMOTHY ADAMS**—BLA member shot 11 times during a police raid—9 bullets in the back. He was paralyzed. He died two years after his release from prison.

(28) **CLIFFORD GLOVER**—a 10-year-old Black youth who was shot in the back and killed April 28, 1973, by Police Officer Thomas Shea in South Jamaica, Queens. Shea claimed Glover pointed a gun at him. He was acquitted on all charges relating to Glover's death.

(29) **NAT TURNER**—In 1831 he led what is considered to be the first successful slave rebellion in Virginia.

(30) **DENMARK VESSEY**—In 1822 the nationalist had organized a rebellion of 10,000 slaves in Charleston, S.C. Vessey had planned to capture Charleston and turn it into a Black state.

(31) **SHALAH SUNDI ALI**—RNA member charged in the federal Brinks' trial. He was acquitted of all counts.

(32) **PUERTO RICAN 13**—In August 1983, 13 Puerto Ricans alleged to be members of the Puerto Rican Independence group "Los Macheteros" were arrested by JTTF agents and charged with the 1984 robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in Hartford, Ct. Seven million dollars stolen in that incident has never been recovered. The Puerto Rican 13 are awaiting trial and are being held at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in Manhattan.

(33) **NEHANDA ABIODUN**—federal fugitive in the Brinks' case described as a New Afrikan freedom fighter.

(34) **REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA (RNA)**—the name given to the colonized Black nation in America. The RNA identifies as a national homeland the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia,

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